

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 06237 01 OF 02 091316Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----091323Z 012988 /53

R 091305Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7287  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06237

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GE GW US UK FR UR  
SUBJECT: ALLIED REACTIONS TO GDR MEASURES IN BERLIN

REFS: A. PARIS 10044; B. LONDON 75293;  
C. STATE 75892; D. STATE 75293;  
E. BONN 5777; F. STATE 67315

BEGIN SUMMARY: BILATERAL FRANCO-BRITISH DISCUSSIONS  
HAVE ONCE MORE HIGHLIGHTED THE SEEMING LACK OF CONCERN  
ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH FOR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE  
RECENT EAST GERMAN ACTIONS IN BERLIN. HIBBERT TOLD  
THE FRENCH CHARGE THAT SUCH ACTIONS WERE ONLY NORMAL AND  
THAT THEY SUPPLEMENTED THE LOGIC OF THE QUADRIpartite  
AGREEMENT. THE MAY QUADRIpartite DISCUSSIONS OF BERLIN  
IN LONDON MAY PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR BRINGING ALLIED  
VIEWS CLOSER TOGETHER. END SUMMARY.

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1. IN A TRIPARTITE MEETING ON APRIL 7, THE FRENCH  
BONN GROUP REP (BOISSIEU) INFORMED U.S. AND UK REPS ON  
AN FYI BASIS THAT THE FRENCH EMBASSIES IN WASHINGTON  
AND LONDON HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO DISCUSS WITH THE  
DEPARTMENT AND THE FCO FRENCH VIEWS ON HOW THE  
ALLIES SHOULD REACT TO RECENT GDR ACTIONS. THESE WOULD  
BE THE KEY POINTS OF THE FRENCH APPROACH, AS DESCRIBED

BY BOISSIEU:

-- IT IS NECESSARY TO DECIDE HOW TO AVOID LOSING THE GAINS OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT AND TO SLOW DOWN CURRENT GDR EFFORTS TO ASSIMILATE EAST BERLIN TO THE GDR;

-- LOCAL COUNTERMEASURES IN BERLIN WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AND COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE;

-- THE FRENCH ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO A COMMUNIQUE AFTER THE QUADRIpartite MEETINGS IN LONDON IN MAY BUT DOUBT THAT ANY SUCH STATEMENT WOULD HAVE A PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE GDR OR THE SOVIETS; DIRECT ACTION IS NECESSARY TO THAT END;

-- THE FRENCH ARE PREPARED TO MARK THEIR DISPLEASURE BY POSTPONING OFFICIAL VISITS TO THE GDR, ALLOWING NEGOTIATIONS TO DRAG OUT, AND EXPLAINING THEIR REASONS TO THE GDR;

-- THE VISIT OF LORD GORONWY-ROBERTS SEEMS HIGHLY INAPPROPRIATE; AND

-- IT IS NECESSARY TO TELL THE SOVIETS IN HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS THAT BERLIN IS A DECISIVE ELEMENT IN THE GENERAL EVOLUTION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

2. ON APRIL 8, BOISSIEU READ TO THE U.S. REP AN ACCOUNT CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE DISCUSSION WHICH THE FRENCH CHARGE IN LONDON HAD HAD WITH FCO DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HIBBERT, IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ABOVE INSTRUCTION. HIBBERT RESPONDED ESSENTIALLY ALONG THE SAME LINES AS IN HIS DISCUSSION EARLIER IN THE WEEK WITH THE U.S. CHARGE (REF B), ALTHOUGH IT APPEARS THAT HE MAY HAVE GONE EVEN FURTHER WITH THE FRENCH CHARGE IN DISCOUNTING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT GDR ACTIONS.

3. ACCORDING TO BOISSIEU'S ACCOUNT, HIBBERT SAID HE DID NOT ATTACH ANY IMPORTANCE AT ALL TO THE STEPS TAKEN BY THE GDR. THEY AMOUNTED ONLY TO AN ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN VESTIGES OF THE OCCUPATION YEARS. THEY WERE UNAVOIDABLE AND EVEN NORMAL; THE GDR WAS ONLY SUPPLEMENTING THE LOGIC OF THE QA. ALTHOUGH PRESS COMMENTARIES HAD DECEIVED THE PUBLIC INTO THINKING THE GDR ACTIONS WERE IMPORTANT, IN SUBSTANCE NOTHING HAD CHANGED.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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R 091305Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 06237

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4. HIBBERT TOLD THE FRENCH CHARGE THE UK WAS PREPARED TO INFORM THE SOVIETS THAT THE MEASURES INTRODUCED BY THE GDR COULD NOT AFFECT THE EXERCISE BY THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES OF THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THAT THIS HAD IN FACT BEEN DONE IN THE JOINT ALLIED STATEMENT OF JANUARY 11. HIBBERT REITERATED HIS VIEWS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF REFERRING TO "RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES," RATHER THAN THE "STATUS OF BERLIN." THE LATTER, HE SAID, WAS A LEGALLY UNFOUNDED CONCEPT, THE USE OF WHICH LED TO QUARRELS WITH THE SOVIETS. MOREOVER, USE OF THAT TERM HAD THE EFFECT OF ENCOURAGING THOSE IN THE FRG WHO REMAIN NOSTALGIC FOR GERMAN UNITY.

5. HIBBERT ALSO STATED THAT CERTAIN FRG INITIATIVES CONCERNING BERLIN WERE AT LEAST AS DISTURBING AS THOSE TAKEN BY THE GDR. HE REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT IT WAS NOT UP TO THE ALLIES TO TAKE COUNTERMEASURES WHEN THE FRG WAS MAKING CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC PROFIT FROM ITS  
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RELATIONS WITH THE GDR.

6. HIBBERT ADDED THAT, HAVING SAID THE ABOVE, THE UK NEVERTHELESS WOULD CONSIDER IT USEFUL TO ISSUE A COMMUNIQUE AFTER THE MAY QUADRIPARTITE MEETING AND ALSO WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT FRENCH OR U.S. DEMARCHES IN MOSCOW. IT WAS ALWAYS USEFUL, HE SAID, TO REMIND THE SOVIETS OF ALLIED RIGHTS. ONE COULD NOT TELL HOW RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS WOULD DEVELOP IN THE FUTURE. IN PARTICULAR, IF THERE WERE A DETERIORATION OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS, THE SOVIETS COULD CHANGE THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BERLIN.

7. WITH REGARD TO THE GORONWY-ROBERTS VISIT, HIBBERT TOOK ESSENTIALLY THE SAME LINE AS IN REFS B AND C. THE ONLY NEW ELEMENT IN HIS RESPONSE WAS THAT A BILATERAL PUBLIC HEALTH AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED DURING THE VISIT. NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN CONCLUDED, AND THERE WAS NO REASON TO DELAY THE FORMAL CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT.

8. COMMENT: BOISSIEU'S MAIN PURPOSE IN PROVIDING US THIS REPORT ON THE CONVERSATION IN LONDON WAS TO REOPEN THE QUESTION OF HOW WE ARE TO ACHIEVE ASEMBLANCE OF ALLIED UNITY. HE EXPRESSED HIS CONCERNS AT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR BERLIN OF THE FACT THAT THE BRITISH ATTITUDE MAKES IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR THAT THERE IS NO DISPOSITION ON THE ALLIED SIDE TO REACT STRONGLY.

IN RESPONSE TO BOISSIEU'S "WHAT ARE WE TO DO?" QUESTION, EMBOFF EXPRESSED THE PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE ISSUE WOULD DOUBTLESS BE CONSIDERED IN ANY DISCUSSIONS OF BERLIN AT THE MAY MEETINGS IN LONDON. HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL, IF THE BONN GROUP WAS TASKED WITH PREPARING A BERLIN ASSESSMENT FOR THE QUAD MEETINGS, TO ATTEMPT TO FOCUS SPECIFICALLY ON THAT ISSUE. EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREED  
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ASSESSMENT IN THE BONN GROUP, THERE WOULD BE UTILITY IN SETTING FORTH ALTERNATIVE VIEWPOINTS IN ORDER TO PINPOINT THE DIFFERENCES FOR MINISTERIAL-LEVEL CONSIDERATION. THE FRENCH, LIKE WE, ARE AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS ON NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE MEETINGS.  
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